

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the

634 Shehu still has a

647 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are

554 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus

[576] if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

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Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the

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662 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to deter-

mine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

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The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials

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557 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warden were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

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[576] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.